3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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* The "gin" lays stress on the subject: why are you on this (while the hare is fat)?
** *kâk*, an expression used most frequently, cannot be well translated into English; it may mean any degree and shade of surprise, very often, as here, angry surprise.
*** *Dyâk* is not only "to-morrow", but simply "the next day".
* Instead of "*dhaiâk yi ga*".
* from *gî* p.
** *kaj*, more frequently *kâj*, the stem for "go".
* The hare wanted the hyena to believe that he, the hare, was being punished for his misdeeds, and that the hyena, by running away, might get a thrashing as well.
* Instead of *gî*.
* to strike dead.
* more frequently: *mâjy* to arrive.
* "besides" — there.
* considers!
* commonly: *bodyi*; here the *y* is long, as if to express the heightened waiting for an answer — but all emphasized alike).
* to be, being guest, not entitled to eat you?
* To prevent the monkey from recently running away.
* A thrashing to some old affair, for which he intended to take revenge now.
* Unless the hare escapes the threatened revenge of the hyena, and even injures him severely now, taking advantage of the greediness of the latter.
The same story is told in Marno, Sagen in Gebiet des Bleuen und Weißen Nil, under „Die schönsten von allen Dingen."
* the lion, his spear is still with me.
* *ke* and *kaj* are most frequently used in this way, to emphasize a statement: is it not so? that is surely to us.
* considers! the last vowel with high tone.
* "why considers my spear not rendered (heaped) by you?"
* see Grammar.
** "a middle which is not": a middle of somebody who is not present, somebody's middle, I do not know whom.
** considers!
* Instead of: make ye die.
* one would expect: *gingo nwa*.
* one would expect: *gingo gin*.
* "You are finished with your work", "Whenever I meet you again, I shall recognize you and take revenge." This story of the lion and the fox is also told in Marno, l. c. The Dinkanimals have it likewise.
* He expected the fox to come too, and so to find an opportunity for finishing him.
* *gâ-lâ* ..., an expression of sweetness, the literal meaning is not clear; "I with my children?"
* from *kâjy*!
* The fish-spear is a wizard, because "he sees the fish in the water"; he is thrown into the water as long himself, and yet hits the fish.
* In shooting the girl selects her companion, not the man.
* The story seems to have some mythological relations.
* from *dhaiâ*!
* "and there (the sentence) ceased he".
* gnats are eaten they (by) whom?
* a canoe, the literal meaning not clear.
* "the hare went, he (he) his place".
* "he was in difficulty with a place of his going out."
* and the fish, and (he) was asked.
* In many cases like this the meaning of *dhaiâ* was hardly by rendered.
** *dhaiâ* from *dhaiâg kaa* ! *g* is used here because the act of *dhaiâ* lies in the future.
** the people ask: "whose shall we shoot?" (one among them exclaims), "shoot the man!"
** generally the head, the "new house", in the place where strangers pass the night.

Adjl-tuś, yi kŋa kŋa? Nuər a wuŋi, ya kŋa ʃlui lɔ́ɔ́ jwɔl, Awεn, na Yər.
*539 "Adolung, where are you going?" "The Nuers are approaching, I am going
533 to the town of God, oh Awen, son of Yer."

Akol Dɔ̈k na Ńikoń, Kaye-Duru, Akoluku, Akol-Kwɔ̈lai, na Ogɔ̈k Fɔ̈lɔ, kwai ʃlɔ, ya yiɛ̈ll yin, a yiɛda yin alɛn kí dyɛ̈rí, ya yiɛ̈ll. Yakɔl, wuye Dɔ̈kɔ́, Amɛl na Ogɔ̈k (na Shal), bwɔ́i ní fyɛ̈n ní fyinɔ̀: Shal kŋa? Kɛ́ na wiŋŋ; nan ní gɔ́ní kɛ̈ŋ? naáa chíáŋ ywɔ́dá kí Dɔ́ɔ́, wɔ́ɔ́ shwai ywɔda, lwɔ̈k Amɛl, na Ńikoń.

Akol, Dak, son of Nyikang, Kaye Duro, Akoluku, Akol Kwalai, son of Ogak Folo, you grandfather of men, I am preserved by you, I have been saved by you in ancient times, I have been preserved. Yakol, you father of *Dɔ̈k*, Amol, your people are continually asking me, "has Shal gone?" Hunger is approaching; where has he gone, he who preserves the descendants? Licking of hands[1] I found at *Dɔ́ɔ́*, eating of soup found I, you people of *Amɛl*, the son of *Ńikoń*.

Ajɔ̈k-bɔ́ɔ-wɛ̈l-jɔ̈k, kwɔcha kwɔ̈ɔ̈ɛ, kwɔcha tyɛ́i fa jwɔl, rɛ̈ɛ e duɔ̈k mal. Kwɔcha kwɔɛ yen. Yɛn i yɛ̈ɛ̈ɔ́; yen da Ńikoń, rɛ̈ɛ e duɔ̈k mal; tɛ́ɛ́ fa yɛ́ɛ́a alɛ́nd? Yen da Ńikoń; fɛn a yiɛ̈l, a yiɛ̈l i rɛ̈ɛ; ya fɛrɛ lɛyɛ̈l, ya fɛ́ɛ́ɔ, ya yɛ́ɛ́a alɛ́n, Wɛrɔ-kwɛ́, kŋa bɛ́dá!

Ajak-bauwelyok, I am praying to our grandfather, I am praying to the people of the place of God, the king[2] has returned. I am praying to our grandfather. The holy drum is being beaten, I am with *Ńikoń*, the king[2] has returned to us. Is not my spear in my hand? I am with *Ńikoń*. The country is saved, it is saved, though it was desolate. I am planting my dura; I thank (my ancestors), I lift up my hands, Wuro-Kwa, strengthen my arms!

[196] [1] "Licking of hands" is an expression for plenty of good food. [2] *Ńikoń*.

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bawith*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bawith's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwaw* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kwaajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagul* and for some reason for the *Jwog* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth* or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagul* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "one."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi kal ʃuok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yuri nwa*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrament, but rape, as also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny bogwe*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

766 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women [237 283] were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese [644] The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reil* Fadiet. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fashoda were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *reth* was interesting. Dak like other sons of Fadiet was not far away, and the chief of Gol Nyikang sent his son by night to get him. Whether or not there is a mock fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking of the *reth* (c.f. Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 44) — "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *reth*, we want to instal you in Fashoda."

It was said that the installation of *reth* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *reth* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1948. The *reth* became more and more worried as the installation approached. There were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *nyiretb* had declared his intention of assassinating the *reth* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *reth*'s party in their march to Fashoda on that day, confirmed the *reth*'s nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *reth* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

On 27.12.48 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1914-1917)1917
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR REETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR REETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Orero," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country.

Within the KWAR REETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR REETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is divided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR REETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*.

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Fung (Fung clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR REETH.

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR REETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind.

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically

Cp. 319]

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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195 643 648 [578] employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far as you are concerned.

195 643 The *Reth*'s head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to,anchor" (Shil., *awak*). When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes. An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

195 643 648 539 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is anything comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the purpose of this note (which is serious).

NOTE.—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry outside the royal bomas to pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second.

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Rath.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be cursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog.

Rath: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily
797 I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the